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## DEFENDS MEMORY OF J. E. B. STUART

(Continued From First Page.)

Marshall and Longstreet, in which I quoted in full General Lee's letter from Chambersburg to Ewell, who was then at Carlisle, dated 130 A. M., June 23, 1863. It says: "I wrote you last night (27th) stating that General Hooker was reported to have crossed the Potomac, and is advancing, by way of Middle-town, the head of his column being at that point in Frederick county. I directed you in my letter to move your forces to this point." This letter refutes Marshall's, Longstreet's and Lee's statements that, until the spy came in at night on the 25th, General Lee thought that Hooker was still on the south bank of the Potomac. It also refutes what Marshall says about orders having been issued for the army to move on the 26th. The letter shows that the army was then ordered to return with his whole corps to Chambersburg. The next day the order was modified, and Ewell directed to Cashtown, a village at the eastern end of the South Mountain Pass. None of these staff officers mention this letter. I suppose it was because it cannot be reconciled with their statements about General Lee's ignorance of the enemy's movements and his embarrassment on account of the absence of his cavalry. They all make Stuart's dis-

obedience as much the cause of the defeat as Adam's was of the fall of man. I admit that they agree with General Lee's report. That report says that at Chambersburg, on account of news brought by the spy on the night of June 25th, the three army corps were ordered to Gettysburg, and that Heth's division on July 1st, being in advance, ran "unexpectedly" against the enemy, Marshall, Long, Fitz Lee and Taylor, his biographers, repeat all this. The complaint in the report is the origin of the hostile but senseless criticisms of Stuart. The army was never ordered by General Lee to Gettysburg. Heth did not run "unexpectedly" against the enemy. Hill's and Heth's reports do not say so. Hill says he informed General Lee on June 30th that the enemy occupied the place that day. Heth's division was sent to Cashtown on the 25th. Hill and Heth say that, hearing that the enemy were at Gettysburg, they left their camps at Cashtown on July 1st and went there to make a reconnaissance. They had no such orders. "This is an admission that they did not go there to fight the place. The object of a reconnaissance is to get information. Just sufficient force is applied as to compel the enemy to display himself. The attacking force then retreats. Hill and Heth fought all day, and were beaten. Their own reports show that they were not making a reconnaissance, but a raid; in this way they broke up Lee's plan of campaign. But nobody would dispute it from reading General Lee's report. On the morning of July 1st, when they went on this adventure, General Lee was ten miles away, west of the mountain, at Greenwood. He was not dreaming of a battle that day.

Charge of Forgery. To avoid the effect of my publication of the Chambersburg letter, Longstreet and Marshall, by his next friend, Colonel Stribling, tried to impeach its authority because, as published in the War Records, there is a note—copied "from memory." The letter is in Colonel Venable's handwriting in the letter-book, and is attested by his official signature. Colonel Venable's official tests is not, however, copied in the published volume. It was for this reason I wanted to inspect the original to ascertain who wrote it, and if it comes in the letter-book in due sequence of dates and pages. Longstreet and Stribling insisted that the letter was antedated, and that it was written by a staff officer long afterward and inserted in the letter-book. This was equivalent to a confession that the letter, if authentic, contradicted all that had been said against Stuart and about General Lee's ignorance of the whereabouts of the enemy. No motive has been imputed to Colonel Venable for perpetrating such a forgery. The letter appears in the original on a proper page where it should be, according to its date. I have no doubt that General Lee dictated the letter to Venable soon after the original was sent to Ewell. Ewell's and Early's reports show that they received copies of the two Chambersburg letters and obeyed the instructions, which verified the correctness of the copy in the letter-book. They also show that the letters must have been written on June 25th and 27th. My article in the Times on March 22, 1896, was based on General Lee's contemporary correspondence quoted by Longstreet, Ewell and Stuart. There was no allusion to a report. In my letter, however, transmitting it to Joe Bryan for publication, I said: "Joe, every word I have written is contradicted by General Lee's report." Soon Longstreet and Stribling came out in reply in which they quoted General Lee's report as conclusive evidence against me, and in effect saying the Chambersburg letter is a forgery. It did not seem to occur to either that if General Lee's report contradicted me, his letter contradicted his report, or it is a forgery. As the letter, they said, is in the possession of their side, they said they would make an exhibit of it, as the rest of the letter sustained their contention. The truth made two written requests to Colonel Marshall through Colonel Marcus Wright, to get the very information I recently got by inspecting the book. I got no answer from him. I am a believer in the Baconian philosophy; I like to reason on facts. The mass of Gettysburg literature is a ladder leaning against a wall. It is all a romance so far as it relates to the operations of the cavalry. Lee's order of 5 P. M. June 23 at Berryville to Stuart, who was in the east of the Blue Ridge, to leave two brigades of cavalry with Longstreet in Virginia and to join Ewell on the Susquehanna. The order required Stuart to cross the Potomac in advance of the army. A late biographer of Lee admits that the order authorized Stuart to pass around Hooker's rear, but says it required him at the same time to keep between Hooker and Lee—a miracle that only a wizard or a witch could perform. General Lee, however, was in Hooker's front; he could not have expected Stuart to watch and report Hooker's movements on the Potomac to him.

### Defense of Stuart.

Another letter of the same date and on the same subject is in Colonel Marshall's handwriting. It is remarkable that all of these parties should have forgotten what they wrote to Stuart, and should declare that Lee's orders to him were to march on Longstreet's flank as he moved into Pennsylvania. Stuart left two brigades of cavalry with Longstreet. Lee's biographers don't seem to know it. Another letter from General Lee to Lin-

coln, dated July 1st, at Greenwood, is in Colonel Marshall's handwriting. It informs Imboden, who was in the rear, that for the next few days his headquarters would be at Cashtown. Marshall was not a mere machine; he knew the meaning of the letter he wrote. Hill and Heth were then fighting at Gettysburg. General Lee did not know it. That afternoon General Lee crossed the mountain, and, hearing the firing, rode at full speed through Cashtown to the sound of the cannon. He never saw Cashtown again. If he had ordered his army to Gettysburg after the alleged spy came in at Chambersburg, as Marshall and other historians say, he would not have fixed his headquarters eight miles away at Cashtown. Was anything as discreditable to General Lee ever said by an enemy? If Gettysburg was his objective point, why does he make an apology for fighting there? He says he delivered a battle there because he was so entangled he could not get away without fighting one. It is at least a coincidence that the day on which he had ordered the three corps of his army to march

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for concentration, and that he ran "unexpectedly" against the enemy there. Now, his correspondence shows that on June 27th General Lee knew that Hooker's army had crossed the Potomac and was in Frederick county. In pursuit of him. But his report says that the spy on the night of June 25th brought him the first news of it. Admitting the spy story to be true, he ought not to have been surprised to find the enemy at Gettysburg on July 1st, which is not much over a day's march from a frontier. On June 26th Gordon's brigade, with White's cavalry battalion, camped at the place; they went on to York the next day. On June 28th Lee's army was much nearer Gettysburg than Meade's. Heth's division was at Cashtown, only eight miles away. Hill's corps might easily have occupied the place that day on the next day. Meade did not leave Frederick until the 29th. If General Lee was going to Gettysburg, why did he stay three days at Chambersburg and keep Hill at Cashtown after the alleged spy came in? General Lee, with Longstreet, did not leave Chambersburg until June 30th. The spy was as much a being of imagination as Caesar's ghost that appeared at Philippi. No spy came in at Chambersburg.

### Charges Against Stuart.

The case as stated against Stuart is (1) disobedience of orders in leaving General Lee, who was with Longstreet, and going to Ewell; (2) that Gettysburg was the point where the concentration was ordered, and Stuart was not there; (3) that Heth, being in advance, ran "unexpectedly" against the enemy. In a published letter Heth says that he "stumbled" like a blind man into the fight. If Heth had stood still he would not have stumbled. His official report states exactly the reverse. It says he knew the enemy held Gettysburg, but he wanted to see how many there were. The plea to the indictment against Stuart is—(1) he was ordered by General Lee to the Susquehanna; (2) Lee never ordered the army to Gettysburg; Stuart was absent on the first day for the same reason that General Lee and Longstreet were absent; (3) Heth did not run "unexpectedly" against the enemy. Hill and Heth knew on June 30th that Buford's division was at Gettysburg. But, admitting that Stuart's absence was the cause of the defeat, his critics reason in a circle in defending Lee and blaming Stuart. Stuart was absent obeying General Lee's orders. General Lee is responsible for what Stuart did; he is not responsible for what Hill and Heth did. If Jackson had been with Lee, the would have been no battle at Gettysburg. My theory of the campaign exalts Lee as a commander at the expense of his own report. General Beauregard wrote me that before reading my Belford article (1891) he had always "condemned" General Lee for the Gettysburg campaign. His opinion must have been based on Lee's report, or on the accounts of the campaign by his biographers. The late Colonel John M. Patton, after reading Stuart's report, wrote me that he was writing for General Lee the same excuse for Stuart's absence. Macaulay makes for William of Orange for signing the order for the massacre of Glencoe—that he signed without reading it. John C. Ropes, of Boston, the historian of the war, wrote me: "Lee's report is all wrong as to Stuart and the cavalry."

### Report Prejudicial.

There is a floating legend that General Lee assumed all the blame of his defeat. He did not. His report, which was written by Colonel Marshall, put all the blame on Stuart, and it was accepted as true. There is not a word in his first report about Hill and Heth making a reconnaissance or about the two cavalry brigades that were left with him and Longstreet. The report is dated July 1st, 1863, and was immediately published in the Richmond papers. Then began the criticisms of Stuart. The next winter I was in Richmond. A number of resolutions of thanks to military organizations had passed Congress. I met Colonel Alex. Bowler, a member from Virginia, who had been

a volunteer aid to Stuart. He told me that he wanted to offer a similar resolution about Stuart and the cavalry, but was hesitating on account of the prejudice against Stuart. It all came from General Lee's report. The equestrian statue of Stuart, a public acknowledgment of one of the greatest wrongs done a man since Columbus was sent home in chains. I do not expect that anything I may write will make the least impression in Virginia. That would be as hopeless as trying to persuade a High Churchman that Henry the VIII. was not a good husband. It is from no ambition to be a historian that I have dared to tell the truth about Gettysburg. I wish some one else had done it. It is a cup which

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